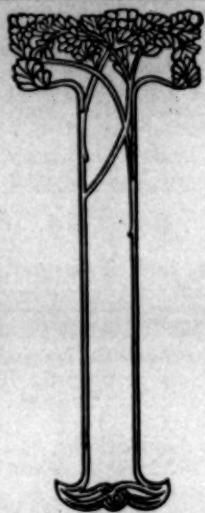


The Woman's Protest

Published Monthly by the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage
37 West 39th Street, New York City

Vol. 3
No. 4



SUFFRAGE A HANDICAP IN CIVIC
WORK

"IS WOMAN'S WORK WELL DONE?"

EQUALITY FOR SUFFRAGISTS;
PRIVILEGES FOR MOTHERS

EFFICIENCY IN THE HOME

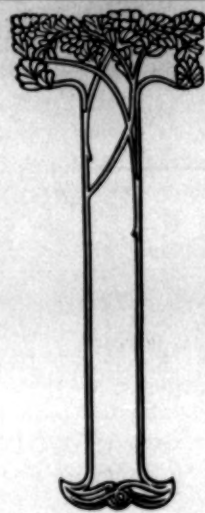
WOMAN—THE KEYSTONE

WAGE EARNERS AND SUFFRAGE

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM

ACTIVITY IN NEW JERSEY

AUGUST
1913



Subscription, \$1.00 a Year

Single Copies, 10 cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 1, 1913, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y.; Under the Act of March 3, 1879

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Suffrage for Women a Handicap in Civic Work

BY MARY ELLA SWIFT

IF you know the general creed of the person whose special argument is before you, even more if you know something of his experience you have a key for clearer judgment. For this purpose I am making a personal preface to the argument that has to me been entirely satisfying and unanswerable against woman suffrage. Uncompromisingly against suffrage, the stock arguments on our side have not been satisfying nor unanswerable to me. Their logic has on the whole been discomfiting to me because in my opinion no argument that puts woman in a cage claiming divine or human right to fix her status indubitably or for ever because of sex will stand the test of the history of the race. When we argue that woman shall not have the ballot because she cannot fight, we are using a specious reason. All men are not able to fight; many women are able; women have been warriors; we do not know but the time and the circumstances may arise to make women warriors again. Certainly any woman of the Balkans who found herself using sword or powder was in the line of glorious service regardless of sex. Many women are born rulers, as many men are born to follow; many women always will be placed where their duty is to bear the burden of family support. More and more a woman's place in life and her development and use of her powers are being controlled, not by the fact of her sex, but by exactly the same springs that control the men of nobility and conscience; the path of duty to those whose happiness and welfare are tied up with hers. Men by thousands have turned away from their ideals of a career; from their devouring desires and ambitions to the homely everyday job because human destinies are bound together. Woman will obey the noble or ignoble call as men do.

I venture to speak somewhat of my own experience. When a junior in an eastern woman's college, I heard Carl Schurz speak on the spoils system in American politics. My interest was aroused, and I began the reading of a weekly journal which advocated with intellectual and moral weight governmental reform. I was not a student, but I was fairly equipped for what was my normal place in political life. I had a little more than the average enlightenment regarding public affairs and an earnest desire to help in the work of stamping out the spoils system in our political life. The chance given in this country for the education of women, for free speech and a free press, that has largely ignored sex, gave me my chance to pass on the enlightenment I was fortunate enough to receive. My sex has offered no barrier. If I knew anything and felt moved to try to persuade, men have been quite as open-minded to argument as have women. The little I have accomplished working with other rank and file workers, without publicity or any fame even of the modest local sort, was the most effective work possible to my taste, opportunity and equipment. Personally the duties of suffrage would be to me a very serious handicap.

For me, the vital argument against suffrage for women is that it would hamper them in their more effective work in social and political lines. Men already have suffrage and they must do their work of public enlightenment along with the great burden of maintaining the political machinery of suffrage. The obligations of this double function are more than average men can undertake and earn their living. By the mere accident of sex, by the natural sequence of her life, linked with child bearing,

woman has developed along her natural lines. She has been the center arch of what is known as the home. This she has been through no man's command but as a consequence of this function of child bearing. Whatever of handicap this has been to her in the past (and I should not deny that along many lines it had narrowed her interests and retarded her development) by it woman to-day has her great opportunity for what is now an age of specialization. The complexities of social and political development of this country, its terrific pace demand a division of labor. We cannot spread ourselves over everything, we must work to be thorough in a few things, to have time to think, to learn that it is not worth while to attempt. One man in his laboratory has his vision upon the discovery of hitherto unknown facts or principles; another man in his laboratory is bent upon the discovery of the practical application of these principles that shall lighten labor, or stamp out disease or coin wealth. Another man enlightens the great public by his graphic description of what these men, in their laboratories, are doing, arouses the interest and support and co-operation of the public. So women, through a function for which men are in no wise responsible, have developed no particular aptitude for the mechanism of government and this mechanism of government is antagonistic to the usual duties of the usual woman. On the other hand they are steadily showing more interest and responsibility along all lines of social and political enlightenment. Most women will elect to continue to be wives and mothers, and to find that with the moderate income in the hands of most, the business of running a home will not be an easier task in the future than it has been in the past. For the most, this work leaves little surplus energy or time. She will not feel degraded, nor that any real right has been wrested from her because she does not enter into the organization of parties, nor nominations, nor conventions, nor party warfare, nor political conspiracies, nor strife for office. These are the accompaniments of suffrage that good men and evil have been struggling over. They are inevitable but they are demoralizing. The power that evil and ignorance have to cloud real issues, to darken the vision, to arouse prejudice, make the processes of public enlightenment slow and wearing. To force public enlightenment is the greatest work of every community. To have one great section of the community out of the turmoil of political machinery, out of personal contact with the forces that most arouse passion and prejudices is to give that section immense weight and influence in spreading public enlightenment. That is woman's supreme opportunity to-day. Unjust and obsolete laws, social evils, industrial oppression, the making of new and beautiful cities, out of what has sprung up evil and noisome in our midst, all is before her from which to select her work. According to her own light and strength and opportunity she may choose. Suppose she elects to join no organization and do no public work, but as a woman of average information, with ideals and good judgment, simply talks on public matters to the men and women she meets, she is still one of the great forces for steady improvement. With such an opportunity how petty seems the talk of woman's "rights" about her "degradation" because she cannot walk to the ballot box and deposit a vote, often meaningless and futile as to the specific object it is meant to reach.

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Vol. III.

August, 1913

No. 4

The Woman's Protest invites letters from its readers.

There is something wrong with the condition of women to-day. There is no question about that. Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists agree on that point, their only difference being the means by which the condition of women could be bettered and the condition of mankind improved through the influence of the women. Suffragists think it can be done through the ballot box. Anti-Suffragists think that it can be done better without the franchise. We think that putting woman into politics and forcing her to do man's work as well as her own is a terrible waste. It has not been proved, in any State where woman votes, that she has accomplished anything by the franchise which she could not have accomplished without it, provided she possesses the knowledge which we deny comes only with the ballot. The work of women in non-suffrage States has proved that.

What the woman of to-day needs is education in order to make full use of the opportunities which modern times have given her. As we have often asserted before, we believe in woman having the fullest opportunity for her individual development for the good of humanity and of the State, but that this development should be used for others and not solely for herself. We aim to develop the woman so that she may make a better home by becoming the best kind of a wife in the fullest sense of that word—a companion giving her full share in the partnership—and so that she may become a better mother, if she is so fortunate as to be one.

We therefore stand as a body of Conservationists. Our aim is to conserve the home, to conserve motherhood, to conserve womanhood. We seek to preserve all that is best in the old order of things, to incorporate what is excellent in the new; we seek to continue our part of the foundation of the social fabric along these lines and not along the lines of economic independence for all women, of Socialism, and of Feminism.

WASHINGTON HEARING

According to reliable information from Washington, Congressman Henry, Chairman of the Committee on Rules, has informed the Suffragists that owing to the pressure of affairs of national importance, he will not appoint during this session a special Committee on Woman Suffrage in the House of Representatives, as requested by the Suffragists. He has consented, however, to receive informally a party of the delegates to the Woman Suffrage Convention in Washington, for the purpose of setting a date in December for a Suffrage Hearing before the Committee on Rules.

The National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage has not asked permission to appear at the informal reception, but has sent a formal request to the Committee on Rules that if a hearing is granted to the Suffragists at the regular session of Congress, the same opportunity shall be extended to delegates from the National Association to present the reasons for their opposition to action by Congress on the question of Woman Suffrage.

EQUALITY AND PRIVILEGE IN SUFFRAGE

Suffragists are rapidly dividing into factions. One faction is consistent enough to realize that equal hardships will inevitably go with equal rights, and that women, if given the ballot, will in a generation or two be stripped of all the safeguards with which men have attempted to protect them. The elderly delegate to the suffrage congress who refused a man's seat in a street car in Budapest recently, saying she wished no privileges, only equality, illustrated the type which is far-seeing enough to follow the demand for the ballot to its logical conclusion. She clearly sees that women, if enfranchised, must be prepared to renounce all considerations from men, that they must accept military and jury service and renounce their dower right. Men cannot be held responsible for the debts of their wives, cannot be held liable for their support, need not pay alimony, if what is sauce for the goose is going to be sauce for the gander. If men accept women at the valuation set upon them by the suffragists, these things are inevitable.

The other faction of suffragists wishes additional privileges and has no hesitancy in announcing that it will use the ballot to obtain them. That is, they wish class legislation for women. This is not democratic, though claimed as so. It would give rise to a form of government which the world has never known—a sex aristocracy. It would superimpose on us an aristocratic, not a democratic, form of government. Woman suffrage would result in a privileged female sex which, while vested with power equal to that of the male sex, would be exempt from the burdens borne by the latter class. This would be one of the greatest tyrannies that have ever existed.

We Anti-Suffragists believe in special legislation for women not because they are women but because they represent active and potential motherhood. This is the only basis upon which we can found a claim for consideration. We believe that being exempt from military and jury duty, it would be neither wise nor just for the government to place in the hands of a sex so exempt the ruling temporal power which is vested in the ballot. This is a nice point of honor which escapes the suffragists.

WOMAN'S POLITICAL INFLUENCE

What makes the Woman Suffrage demonstrations in America so specially impressive—in contrast with other demonstrations of a political character—is the fact that the women and their supporters are absolutely free from class or party bias. It is possible, of course, to say that the women have a particular axe to grind, but it is an axe that they mean to lay to the root of the tree of special interests. In striving for the abolishment of the privilege of sex, they attack the last stronghold of monopoly and proclaim an emancipation that takes in the least and the lowest. It cannot be for nothing that a vast fresh tide of emotion is being poured out upon the arid plains of politics. The truth is that the old politics is played out, and that something immeasurably finer and more human is coming to take its place—*New York American*.

The *New York American* says, "What makes the Woman Suffrage demonstrations in America so specially impressive—in contrast with other demonstrations of a political character—is the fact that the women and their supporters are absolutely free from class or party bias."

This is, of course, and always has been the source of woman's influence politically, but it is strange indeed to hear it used as an argument in favor of suffrage. It is just that unbiased, unpartisan attitude that Anti-Suffragists are striving to maintain that in due time "something immeasurably finer and more human" (as the *American* says of Suffrage) may come to take the place of the old politics. But Suffrage for women does not mean an unpartisan and unbiased attitude. It means the exact reverse. It means that women will become allied with parties, that they will defend personal attachments with an intensity never known to men, and that all that great demonstration of unity in "something finer and more human" will be dissolved. Anti-Suffragists have opposed from the first party affiliations for women while sustaining and upholding non-partisan influence. This is exactly the point at issue between Suffragist and Anti-Suffragist.

"Is Woman's Own Work So Well Done?"

(This article has been received unsigned. It is not a blanket indictment of women as a class, but of those who say that the State has taken away woman's power and responsibility in the home.)

TO the wild-eyed suffragettes who are proposing to invade the work that men have always done, we would like to ask the gentle question, Is woman's own work so well done, and so thoroughly done, that she can leave it to do man's work? Has her performance of woman's responsibilities showed any special proficiency in this great wave of reform of the universe which she proposes to inaugurate? There is an old proverb about glass houses. Let's see, Madam or Miss Suffragette, just what modern woman has done with her responsibilities in the home.

In the first and most elementary part of it, the planning and preparation of food, she is the conservator of the nation's health. In the matter of diet, which is three-fourths of health, and where her power is supreme, how not only ignorant she is, but how careless of her ignorance, how indifferent to enlightenment. Surely to be guardian of the nation's health is not a mean or degraded undertaking. We might abolish doctors if women were half onto their jobs. The latest play to the gallery on the part of the suffragettes is that women must have the ballot to protect the home and its health. Piffle! men have enacted pure food laws to protect the nation's vitality, but laws will never be much good without the co-operation of women in the home. And what does the average woman understand or care for right diet, for good food? Wrong diet leads to drunkenness, crime, nervous exhaustion and degeneracy, but it is almost impossible to make the average woman admit her responsibility. Even in so elementary a thing as marketing she is notoriously careless of short weights, imitation food-stuffs, allows herself to be deceived like a child with bright colors and appearances, prefers chemically-colored preserves and fruits, polished rice, bleached flour. It has had to be the work of men to investigate and reform the public opinion of the nation on the nation's health. It's your business, but as you wouldn't he had to step in. What do you, Mme. Suffragette, have to tell us about that?

In the matter of household management the American woman's extravagance is notorious. The reason for this is that the modern American woman does not respect her household duties; does them in the spirit of an early Christian martyr instead of the spirit of scientific intelligence and well-directed personal energy. American women are too prone to shirk and grumble at the household tasks that are necessarily included in home-making. From her lack of interest, she is the least thrifty of housewives of any race. In creating the atmosphere of a home—peace, security, permanence and privacy—she is the least able. Whose fault is it that to the average husband the word home stands for nothing more than a place to run up bills? That to the average child it is only a nervous, unresting atmosphere from which he turns with avidity to escape to the theaters, the alleys, the streets.

It is the woman who sets the family pace, and it is the reckless, senseless and utterly heartless extravagance of American women that will account of the greater number of wrecked families that strew our country's shore. The snobbery of the "society" worshipper, the attempt to create not a home, but a near-replica of the soulless details of some more fashionable household—who does not know it, in homes all over the land? Wouldn't it be better, Sister Suffragette, to try a little self-education to reform your ideals before you ask for the privilege of turning them into laws?

The health of little children is your province—not the most emancipated can deny woman's responsibility there. The prevalence of children's ailments due to improper nutrition—

the adenoids that we're so tired of hearing about, the poor eyes, nervousness, infantile paralysis—are the result of impairment of digestive power through beginning life wrong. And in most cases through feeding babies on patent substitutes for the milk of the healthy mother. Deaths from infant troubles attributable to wrong feeding are twice the number of deaths from tuberculosis and one-third the number of deaths from all the so-called virulent diseases combined. But what of those that don't succumb, that linger on to an ill-developed childhood, that grow up to be only half men and half women? Defective development through malnutrition is the almost inevitable result of the neglect of the modern mother to fulfil the simple function of her motherhood. She will strenuously cultivate unneeded muscular tissues in athletic games, she will cultivate any function necessary or unnecessary, of her body or mind, if she chooses, but she refuses to heed the advice of common sense or her physician to cultivate a perfectly natural function, and either won't or says she can't nurse her child.

The modern woman who refuses to be *bothered* with her baby, or with watching the growth and development of her children's bodies as they grow older, that is her responsibility. What do you know about that?

The increase in juvenile crime is one of the most shocking signs of the rottenness of our civilization (it has been greatest proportionately, by the way, in one of the leading woman suffrage States). It is due simply and solely to lack of moral training in the home. From kindergarten, private school, public school, college, there comes but one cry—the growing lack of home training that is more and more evident to every teacher and student of children and youth. Our public schools are crowded to overflowing; the overworked teacher is asked to shape the characters and minds of forty, sixty, sometimes eighty children. She cannot do it. She cannot form character. Mental training alone of so many individuals is a great enough task to ask of her. The teacher cannot do it, the mother does not, and what happens? What about the rising generation; is it going to be so much an improvement on the generation of, say, Lee and Lincoln? We are educating children in droves, in hordes, and are failing to make self-reliant, self-respecting individuals. Child culture has to be *intensive* to produce results, and to be that it must have its foundation in the home. You cannot socialize moral education. Mental education can be taken out of the home (though even the first and most telling part of that, the forming of right mental habits, must begin there) but moral training is done in the home or not at all. Why is it the modern school-child is so often reported dishonest, thieving, brutal, lawless, even vicious? Is it due to the irreligion of the modern woman, or to her absorption in other interests than her own children? More than ordinary childish depravity has been uncovered in our public schools, juvenile vice has been shown to be prevalent to a degree sickening to the most callous and flippant mind. We won't dwell on it, because we want to forget it. But what was to be expected, with no moral training in the home, and precocious development all along the line? Their amusements, their books, are those of adults, and the result to the half-baked, unformed mind of childhood, can it be anything but depravity? The sex imagination is awakened too early; the modern American child knows no childhood, no home nest of security or privacy, no discipline, no authority in the home. He reads his father's newspaper, she reads her mother's novels, they both know all the theaters, the most up-to-date slang, the latest topical songs, the most scandalous allusions. In short, they are turned loose in childhood into a world whose evil needs the slowest preparation of character-forming and maturity to meet it.

There are women who take an interest in these their woman's responsibilities, who see their God-given duty and are

quietly braving their part of the fight, but most of them are not marching under the suffragette banner. We take off our hats to them, for in their courageous and quiet fight they are not working for glory in this life and only the coming generations will show their handiwork.

You, the others, the women who claim that woman's work in the home is all done, what do you think about the child of to-day. Are our children no longer worth saving? Are votes for women of so much greater worth? What is the price of the heart and soul of one innocent child in this year of Our Lord nineteen hundred and thirteen?

* * * * *

Cornelia A. P. Comer, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July on "Intensive Living," says:

"Beyond the need for bread, a woman's needs are two; deeper than all cravings save the mother's passion, firm-rooted in our endless past, is the hearth-hunger. The trees that sweep my chimney have their roots at the world's core! The flowers in my door-yard have grown there for a thousand years! What millenniums have done, shall decades undo? We are not so shallow, so plastic as that! We will go into the mills, the shops, the offices, if we must, but we know we are off the track of life. Neither our desire nor our power is there."

Equality for Suffragists and Privileges for Homemakers and Mothers

SUFFRAGISTS were and still are full of lofty scorn for any one who dared to say that the Feminist Movement would cost woman her privileges. So ignorant are Suffragists of what their privileges are, or of the true basis of a woman's impersonal value to the state, that they are (in the true suffrage manner) equally sure that they would lose no privileges through the vote and also that they had no privileges to lose. What they were demanding was equality—only equality—nothing but equality. Well, it begins to look as though their wish were about to be granted. Equality is going to be bestowed on women—certainly on Suffragists. Privileges are to be reserved for home-makers and mothers only. The course of modern legislation is following the Feminist assumption of economic independence. Here are a few noteworthy examples. Spinsters are to pay an additional income tax from which married women are exempted, but widowed mothers are to receive State aid in order to maintain the home. Married teachers are to be restored to home life so that men teachers' salaries may become sufficient to support a family. All this very satisfactory legislation is the indirect result of Suffrage agitation. The "indirect influence" of women is indeed salutary.

The most striking example of what Feminists are doing indirectly in sending women back to the home is in Mme. Dieulafoy's influence in France to-day. Mme. Dieulafoy has no vote but she is a noted Feminist and possesses a special permit to wear masculine attire. She has been for some time proposing that women should give military service to the state in order to replace the soldiers which France's low birth-rate fails to supply. She suggests that women should serve as soldiers. Maurice de Waleffe follows up her suggestion in a more practical manner. His plan is that:

- (1) Every woman of twenty years, married or unmarried, shall serve six months in the hospitals. In every subsequent year until she is forty-five she shall serve three weeks in the hospitals.
- (2) Women with children under seven shall be exempt from hospital service.
- (3) Women with more than three children shall be exempt from all further hospital service.

Maurice de Waleffe evidently does not believe in the capacity of women for field duty, but would like to see her "equal service" reduced from three years in the field (as men serve) to three weeks in a hospital and he would exempt mothers altogether. This is Gallic chivalry. M. de Waleffe is hampered by notions of privilege, perhaps. The German Herr Eschelbach has a bet-

ter, because a more equitable proposal, and as the German army is much larger than the French (the German population is sixty-seven millions against the French thirty-nine millions), it is Germany which will settle this question that the French must follow. Herr Eschelbach, speaking of military discipline, asks, "Why should a woman, with social privileges as great as those of a man, be exempted from this painful tribute?" ("The authority of superiors whose treatment of him is not always so considerate as it might be.") Herr Eschelbach thinks that feminine conscription should be strongly advocated. He thinks women could serve the army as *cooks, tailors and seamstresses in the field as well as nurses in hospitals. They could clean and furbish the arms of combatants and aid in giving out stores.* Those who were instructed and courageous could be *secretaries, clerks or amanuenses* to the general staff. They would be put through a certain obligatory training with a view to making them later desirable *wives, house workers and domestic economists.*

Commenting on these ideas from an English standpoint, Mr. Briggs Davenport observes, "The conscription of women would mean a great economy for the state," and adds that these well-trained and disciplined women "would be better fitted by their experience to become wives and mothers."

The humorous side of all this is the fine work Suffragists are doing in sending women back to domestic life. They have sent back hundreds of teachers in New York and England. Now they are at work in France. Truly the "indirect influence" of the Suffragette is a mighty power for good whatever her direct influence may be, but it is amusing nowadays to hear her declaiming as loudly as ever about increasing opportunities for women. The Suffrage Movement is resulting everywhere in the adoption of man's standard as to woman's usefulness, and from the man's point of view women are meant for domesticity and are of most value in that capacity. But the Suffragist sees nothing but the vote—the vote. "Votes for Women!" Meanwhile, the movement she has blindly started follows its appointed cycle. A few more revolutions and we will find ourselves at home once more. It looks as though by the time the Suffragist got a vote she would be back at the wash tub, or serving her lord by cleaning his armor or preparing his food. Her whole hope of deliverance from drudgery would seem in the new era of progress to lie in maternity; in which the new era may be said to strikingly resemble the old!!! But the humor of it lies in the fact that it is Feminist activity which is bringing it about, and that Feminism is a world movement the Suffragists tell us.

Efficiency in the Business of Being a Woman

— THE HOME —

BY JULIA T. WATERMAN

SUFFRAGISTS for some time have been declaiming on marriage as an "economic partnership," and many have demanded half of the husband's fortune or earnings as the right of the wife. A number of letters appeared on this subject in the *New York Sun* and other papers about a year ago, and I endeavored at the time to point out that to treat marriage from the basis of a business partnership would merely mean that women would be expected to make of marriage a more developed profession than is at present the case, and that, far from leading to wider opportunities for women as the Feminists desire, this would lead, on the contrary, to a concentration on her own "business of being a woman," which would leave time for little else. In a letter of March 27, 1912, I said: "The conception of marriage as an economic partnership implies absolute equality between the sexes not only as to income but also as to obligation. * * * If the husband can be legally forced to pay his wife half that he makes, he must be given the legal right to exact of her satisfactory and efficient service as householder and child trainer. This will undoubtedly raise the profession of marriage to man's standard of what it should be, which may in some ways improve it."

It has long seemed possible to me that the Suffrage movement, far from enlarging woman's opportunities, would have exactly the contrary effect—that of exhibiting her deficiencies in her own special work. When man is criticized, railed at and abused long enough it is only natural for him to ask at last: "And you who set yourself up as critic of my work, how are you performing your own?" I have foreseen that the time would come when men, having profited by the salutary suffrage analysis of their failures, would then begin to analyze in their turn the value of the female economic partner's contribution to the firm. There were reasons which made me fearful that the result of any commission or investigation into woman's work inside her own workshop—the home—(which sooner or later in modern progress is bound to come) would not result in the granting of suffrage demands for increased pay. No better means of drawing attention to the want of efficiency as wife, mother and home-maker of the modern woman could have been devised than just that which the Suffragists have adopted. The following extract from a letter which appeared in the *Woman's Home Companion* for July seems to show that men, though they have been silent, have not been altogether unobserving. Efficiency in the home is the great need in modern progress.

(LETTER IN WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION.)

"DEAR M.—Mother wrote me about your engagement. Good-bye to a career! Perhaps just as well thus.

"You have probably chosen as difficult a career as the one you made a start in, only the world doesn't put it that way. For in the wife's job the standards of success are low, while in the literary job they are high. Any wife who is not actually divorced is permitted to call herself a success. How far they are from being a success you know as well as I.

"Wifedom is a profession and a science. This is an age of efficiency. We Americans are sacrificing our lives on the altar of efficiency. My work makes me an efficient engineer, and when I am asked why I don't marry I never like to give the true reason. The girls for whom you have the right feeling do not come up to your standard of efficiency as wives, home-makers, stimulators, companions, advisers. How can I be wrapped up in the efficiency craze all day and come home to find less practical efficiency than in any plant of mine I am connected with?

"And the women themselves are to blame for this, for they

have not looked upon wifedom as a profession ever progressing, but have looked upon it as a privilege. A man's work to-day is harder than it was in the past. A woman's has been made easier. She has not progressed with the times. Fifty per cent. of her energy is misdirected."

If marriage were what Suffragists claim it is, merely an economic partnership, there would be no marriages except between people of equal executive ability. Men would marry their cooks or stenographers only. As it is, however, companionship, the power to stimulate, charm and sentiment continue to play a part in marriage that they have never played in business. Radical women are doing what they can to put marriage on a business basis by robbing it of all these qualities, but the attempt is hopeless. Men, it is seen, even the most efficient modern men, want something more in a wife than they find in a business partner. They want a wife who understands the "business of being a woman," which, while it includes certain domestic tastes and capacities, is not by any means limited to the work for which wages can pay or the value of which can be determined by supply and demand. Suffragists are asking the best in men. Is it not natural that men, too, should demand a greater efficiency in woman as wife and mother?

Suffragists claim that women have solved the domestic problem and passed beyond it. But apparently from the standpoint of modern efficiency she has merely ignored it or pushed it to one side. Because woman's work is neglected in her own domain and because "fifty per cent. of her energy is misdirected" at present, Anti-Suffragists consider Feminism is not true progress. The more that Suffragists advertise modern social, moral and economic conditions, the more this becomes evident, and the need now is for a thorough investigation into the conditions of domestic life. What are the domestic conditions and home influences in most American families? Is it true that woman needs a wider sphere of influence because she has solved her own problems? Or is that department of public labor almost entirely neglected to-day? It is indeed time that women should study their own profession beyond which it is quite obvious they have not evolved, in spite of the modern improvements, and their greater opportunities. The increase of divorce, child labor, infant mortality, prostitution, drink and love of excitement and display, the condition of domestic service and the disregard of duty and lack of expert knowledge in household matters does not show that women have outgrown the home.

A point it is well to call attention to is the fact that at present all reports of social conditions made by women cast the entire blame on men, either directly or by implication. When babies die only the Board of Health is responsible; when girls go astray it is for want of better police; when women can't keep servants it is because they have no votes. The time is coming, however, when we shall have a satisfactory Board of Health and an honest and efficient police, and then the question will be asked, "How about the Home?" Is that up to modern standards? Suffragists are demanding or asserting equality with men. They will, of course, welcome a commission to establish the fact that woman to-day is a thoroughly able and satisfactory economic partner and not merely a "privileged parasite." As our correspondent says, Wifedom is a "profession" which should progress in relation to other professions. Suffragists are the first to proclaim that it has not so progressed. The true work of woman is probably less developed in America to-day than it is in any other country. In no other country is youth so neglected, plain cooking so indigestible and extravagance so universal. Manners among the young are bad. There

is little companionship. Vulgarity in social affairs is increasing—but suffrage has gained a new victory! Let us hope it may lead to an equality in efficiency and that men will now raise the standard of marriage to the man's standard of what marriage should be—not an economic partnership solely, nor a privilege, but a higher standard altogether of "efficiency as

wives, homemakers, stimulators, companions, advisers," in short, a greater development of the "business of being a woman." In demanding equality, woman must be prepared to exhibit at least an equal proficiency in her own sphere—otherwise her challenge returns upon herself. There must be no "double standard" of efficiency in economic equals.

WOMAN—THE KEYSTONE

BY JULIA T. WATERMAN

WOMAN has never in the history of the world won equality with man politically, industrially or physically through her own efforts. When women have equality of opportunity, as is the case in many highly civilized countries to-day, it is the result of protective laws and privileges and not through competition. Take away protection and privilege from woman in marriage and industry and she immediately realizes her physical disabilities. This is what Suffragists wish to do in order to secure political rights. But as soon as they have secured equal political rights, they will ask for special protective laws for women in politics. This has been the history of the Feminist movement from the start. It is, however, carrying things beyond the domain of sanity to demand protection and privilege from a sex to whom we deny any superiority whatever, mental, moral or physical. The solution must lie therefore in a clear cut division. If Suffragists have taken the field as rivals they should provide female courts, police and soldiers. It is supremely ridiculous for an army to go into the field relying on the protection and chivalry of the enemy not to hurt it. That is what Suffragists are doing. They are relying on sex as a last resort. They are using woman's weakness dishonorably as a political pull. Charging boldly as an army in battle or a great force for righteousness which will not be denied its sphere of helpfulness, they suddenly fall back on sheer femininity, weak and pleading women, wanting something very badly and using the old methods for getting it. There is a great moral danger behind this new form of political corruption—one that will be harder to fight than all the evils we have yet known—for a woman has powers a man does not possess (especially with other men) of overcoming resistance and rewarding concessions. Suffragists are demanding equality, but does any one suppose Suffragists yield equality? As soon as they have secured political equality they will demand political privilege and the right (which they now defend) to sling mud without having it returned in kind. At present a simple fact stated in

regard to the methods of female politicians is made to appear as a slur on the whole sex—as though it were or ever could be a slur on George Washington's sex to punish Jack Johnson, or a slur on the sex of Florence Nightingale to hold women responsible for arson, murder or any other crime that criminal or frail women commit. Yet Suffragists believe that sex loyalty means just that. It is easy to see where such ideas embodied in a political party would carry. Fortunately, we know that no woman's party based on sex lines could possibly hold together, and that class will vote with class as heretofore, according to class interest. It is therefore difficult to see what women as a whole have to gain by Suffrage. It means some women fighting with men (and also against other women) for the spoils of office, and fighting perhaps more bitterly, personally and unscrupulously than men fight. It means a loss of character among women (which, of course, means the same loss to men) and therefore a loss of their personal influence in its best sense. Men at present are losing their belief in woman's moral superiority. There is immense danger in that, for on man's faith in women the whole influence of woman and the whole structure of society depends. To give up or yield one jot or tittle of character on woman's part is to shake the structure from foundation to turret. It is to the Feminist Movement that we attribute the unfortunate social conditions of the period. Woman is so essentially the keystone to the arch that when she is insecurely placed the whole arch is unstable. At present the keystone is askew, but put it in its right position and all social conditions improve and become adjusted once more. Suffragists propose to dispense with the keystone and to become the apex. They may do so, but all the same the keystone is indispensable and the apex is not, and it is on the keystone that those who build the State must come to rely. Anything will do to stick a flag on after all. What we want to-day is stability in the foundations.

"The Brook"—(as sung by a Suffragist)

BY JEANNETTE CADWALLADER

With many a curve from old time ways
With many a stir and semble
With many a scheme I fret the days
And make the sages tremble
I talk, I ride, I march, I sing
Among my fellow creatures
My suffrage hat is in the ring
With many novel features
I chatter, chatter, as I go
To join the ranks of voters
For men may come and women go
But right is right forever—
Ever—ever—
Right is right forever.

I go about from state to state
And keep the women stirring
For left unbosomed alone to think
There's danger of demurring
For in each mind this one lone thought
Must transcend ev'ry other
THE RIGHT TO VOTE. It must be
sought
By sweetheart, wife, and mother.
I urge them all along and go
To join the ranks of voters
For men may come and women go
But right is right forever
Ever—ever—
Right is right forever.

I hasten on and plan new acts
Nor show the least white feather
What care I for the cold bare facts?
The injured stand together
The ultimate result may be
In no wise changed. What's that to me?
The logic of it all must note
I'll exercise my RIGHT to vote
And draw my sisters on in tow
To join the ranks of voters
For men may come and women go
But rights are rights forever
Ever—ever—
Rights are rights forever.

Additional Pennsylvania Laws

In the July issue of *THE WOMAN'S PROTEST* appeared a comparison between the laws of Colorado, a woman suffrage State, and Pennsylvania, a non-suffrage State. The following are additional good laws of Pennsylvania:

1. Women are eligible as one of the two overseers of the poor in each county.
Act of April 22, 1903, Sec. 1, P. L. 246. Stewart's Purdon, p. 3578.
2. Provisions for police matron in Philadelphia County Prison.
Act of April 14, 1835, Sec. 5, P. L. 233. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2015.
3. Married women may not be arrested or imprisoned for their torts.
Act of June 28, 1893, Sec. 3, P. L. 345.
No woman may be arrested or imprisoned for debt.
Act of June 30, 1836, Sec. 6, P. L. 573.
4. The widow of an intestate who dies leaving issue is entitled to one-third of the realty for life and to one-third of the personalty absolutely. If there is no issue the widow is entitled to \$5,000 worth of real or personal estate, in addition to her widow's exemption (\$300 allowed by Act of April 14, 1851, P. L. 612). If the estate exceeds \$5,000 she is entitled to one-half of the remaining real estate for life and to one-half of the remaining personal estate absolutely.
Act of April 1, 1909, P. L. 87.
5. Sixty-hour-week and twelve-hour-day maximum for women and minors under 16.
Act of May 2, 1905, Sec. 3, P. L. 353. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5483.
6. Meal hours of children employed regulated.
Act of April 29, 1909, Sec. 3, P. L. 283.
Meal hours of employees in all establishments regulated.
Act of May 2, 1905, Sec. 9, P. L. 354. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5484.
7. Male minors under 16 and females under 18 forbidden to be employed between 9 P. M. and 6 A. M.
Act of April 9, 1909, Sec. 5, P. L. 284. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5606.
8. Seats provided for women employed in any establishment.
Act of March 22, 1887, Sec. 1, P. L. 7. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1662.
9. Provisions for suitable wash and dressing rooms and lavatories for men and women in all establishments.
Act of May 2, 1905, Sec. 8, P. L. 354. Stewart's Purdon, p. 5484.
10. Employment of women in and about coal mines or coal manufactories forbidden.
Act of June 30, 1885, Sec. 1, P. L. 202. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1662.
Women and male minors under 16 forbidden to be employed in mines; women and male minors under 14 forbidden to be employed on the outside structures of mines, except for clerical work.
Act of May 13, 1903, Sec. 2, P. L. 360. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2599.
11. Employment of women in places licensed for sale of liquors to sell or distribute intoxicating drinks to any person, or for purpose of attracting persons to such places, etc., made a misdemeanor and forbidden.
License will be granted only on express condition that no women shall be employed.
Act of Mar. 28, 1878, Sec. 1 and 3, P. L. 10. Stewart's Purdon, pp. 2320 and 2309.
12. Employment of women to wait upon the audience at places of public amusement in cities of first class made a misdemeanor and forbidden.
Act of May 22, 1879, Sec. 2, P. L. 73. Stewart's Purdon, p. 320.
13. Feme-sole boarding-house keepers, whose receipts do not amount to more than \$2,000 per annum, need not pay license fee.
Act of April 10, 1849, Sec. 22, P. L. 574. Stewart's Purdon, p. 4152.
14. Misdemeanor to sell liquor on election day, Sunday, to minors or to persons of known intemperate habits.
Act of May 13, 1887, Sec. 15, P. L. 113. Stewart's Purdon, p. 2323.
15. Misdemeanor to sell, furnish or give tobacco, in any form, to a person under 16 years.
Act of July 10, 1901, P. L. 638. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1886.
16. Misdemeanor to admit minors under 18 to places where liquors are sold or given away, or places injurious to health or morals, unless accompanied by parent or guardian.
Act of May 28, 1885, Sec. 4, P. L. 27. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1873.
17. Provisions for prevention of blindness in children.
Act of June 26, 1895, P. L. 373. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1886.
18. Married women may be incorporated with others in any institution composed of women, or to be under their management, for care and education of children or support of sick or indigent women.
Act of February 24, 1859, Sec. 1, P. L. 78. Stewart's Purdon, p. 7791.
Married women are eligible for appointment and service as corporators or officers of all associations incorporated for learning, benevolence, charity or religion.
Act of April 6, 1879, Sec. 1, P. L. 16. Stewart's Purdon, p. 7791.
19. Husband is liable for his deceased wife's funeral expenses, even though she had a separate estate.
20. It is the husband's duty to support wife even though she has a separate estate. Though she may be a woman of wealth and he without means, he has no claim on her. Husband is primarily liable for necessities, although contracted for by the wife on credit of her separate estate.
21. Husband who has deserted his wife for one year before her death, or has wilfully neglected or refused to support her, has no right in her property, either as tenant by curtesy or under the intestate laws.
Act of May 4, 1855, P. L. 430.
22. Desertion laws provide for arrest of husband and proceedings for compelling him to support his wife and family.
Act of April 13, 1867, P. L. 78. Stewart's Purdon, 1219.
Desertion or non-support of wife and children made a misdemeanor.
Act of March 13, 1903. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1222.
23. Women, children and persons of unsound mind are exempt from arrest for non-payment of taxes.
Act of April 15, 1834, P. L. 514. Stewart's Purdon, p. 4678-9.
24. Act prohibiting pandering, providing penalties for violation thereof, and regulating the competence of certain evidence at the trial thereof.
Act of June 7, 1911, P. L. 698. Stewart's Purdon, Supp. p. 209.
25. Severe penalties attaching to tramps do not apply to women or minors under 16.
Act of April 30, 1879, Sec. 5, P. L. 33. Stewart's Purdon, p. 1016.

In conclusion it may be stated that Pennsylvania has always led in legislation, granting womankind her full liberties and rights, and giving her full and complete protection. The Act of April 11, 1848, P. L. 536, was the first effort of any legislature to give a married woman a phase of the status enjoyed by single women, granting her control of her own property, free from execution for her husband's debts. The Act of June 8, 1893, P. L. 344, completely unfettered the hands of married women by giving them the same rights and powers as an unmarried person, with two exceptions, which we have noted, *i. e.*, that she may not mortgage or convey her realty without joinder of her husband, and that she may not become accommodation endorser, maker, guarantor or surety for another. Both of these exceptions, it is evident, were made for the protection of married women and their homes.

Suffragists say they will obey no laws except those they helped to make. It would be equally reasonable to say they would spend no money they had not helped to earn, would eat no dinners they had not helped to cook, would wear no clothes they had not helped to sew, would live in no house they had not helped to build, or would walk on no pavement they had not helped to lay. If, however, they attempt to carry out this policy the industrial slavery of women will become much worse than the mild yoke of man-made laws. It may be "logical," but it is neither human nor sensible to carry reason quite so far. As a matter of fact, suffrage "logic" stops at just the point where irksomeness begins and no Suffragist carries it beyond a convenient limitation to herself. Socialists, however, fully intend to bring it to its legitimate conclusion, and Suffragists may find it hard to stop the snowball their folly has started from gathering momentum as it goes. Having demanded power, they may find added to it some heavy duties which they did not expect.

Present Conditions in California

The *Argonaut* of California says:

"Possibly we shall have to wait some time for a general and adequate realization of the mischief that has been done by the present state administration and by the legislature that is now drawing to a close. A situation has been created that is far too serious to be mentioned either by ridicule, contempt, or scolding, and the state has echoed with these from north to south. Bad laws can be rectified, bad officials can be removed, and we can always rely upon a certain saving common sense that will mitigate the absurdities of law-makers. But a lowering of the general political tone is not so easily corrected. The mechanism of legislation, once brought into popular scorn, does not readily recover its status. And reflecting minds are already asking themselves what must be the effect upon our institutions of a political procedure that compels us to look upon a state legislature with dislike, with apprehension, and even with terror. The highest deliberate assembly in the state, under the direction of a governor who is one of the standard-bearers of the new democracy, finds itself regarded almost universally as a public threat and a public nuisance. That such a condition is significant of much needs no indication.

"When the well-intentioned voters of the state—and most voters are well-intentioned—have reached the point where they can face conditions instead of theories, facts instead of appeals and war cries, there will be only one evident reality before them. They must recognize that the governor has brought the political morals of the state to as low a point as they have ever reached. Denouncing a score of public evils, he has perpetuated and increased them all. Repudiating the discredited methods of past administrations, he has adopted those same methods one after the other and applied them with a vigor and an inclusiveness never before known. Practically every ugly and nefarious expedient with which the political history of the state has familiarized us is now to be found in full flower at Sacramento and sanctified by a sort of pious pretense that makes them even more ugly and nefarious than they were before. Not even a single evil has been removed from our political life, but on the contrary every evil has been cherished and enlarged. To whatever was evil in systems past there has been added the element of hypocrisy.

"Now these things speak for themselves. They are patent and undeniable. Two years ago we were told that the advent of Governor Johnson would mean the end of machine rule in California. But machine rule has not ended in California. It is more aggressive and more dominant than ever before. There has never been an administration in California so unblushing in its machine building as the present one. We may search the legislative files from the beginning and nowhere shall we find a parallel to such extraordinary proposals as those now before us, proposals empowering the governor to appoint without limit and to pay without limit, to create an army of personal beneficiaries without check either as to size or to remuneration. If this is not a political machine, then there is no such thing as a political machine.

"But most of these evils will right themselves so far as they are concerned with direct legislative acts. There is always a remedy for bad laws. But the debasement of political ideals is another matter, and it is no small thing that we should be accustomed to consider the whole political system of state, the whole scheme of current legislation, in terms of venality and corruption."

Some women can fight, some women can sit on juries with no harm to themselves, some very exceptional ones might make good police women, but this is no reason why all women should be deprived of their exemption from military service, jury duty and police duty.

Women Creators of Public Opinion

In a Democracy constituted as is ours, and as, probably, all modern Democracies will be, the unsolved question is, how can we counterbalance or minimize the power of the careless, indifferent, ignorant, partisan, sectarian and "cudgel" vote of special interests—the labor vote, woman vote, liquor vote, etc.

According to the present method of voting—and this will apply to the women as well as to the men—this vote threatens to overpower that of the thinking, disinterested minority, and may in part explain why so much of our legislation is carelessly drawn up, little considered, and often the result of ephemeral conditions. The office of the minority has largely come to be that of blocking dangerous or unwise legislation, and keeping up a practically increasing fight for the better things.

Now it has seemed to me that the place in the civilization of the woman who is out of the political arena, but stands with her feet firm in the realm of Ethics, has represented the ideal hope of civilization. We have seen, during the past century, the coming into active service and representation of a highly trained body of women, who have contributed, through their opinions and their work, to the formation of what is called the Common Law.

"Common Law" stands back of our Statutes, is the body of public opinion, that which has been proved by experience to be a law of life or is contributory to the creation of better conditions. It is made in the home, at the cross-roads, in the market, and is the force which stands back of the enactment and enforcement of Law.

Our great modern group of trained women is an impressive power, through the purity of its methods and its integrity and disinterestedness of intention. It represents, as does nothing else in our civilization, the organization of a coherent group, whose power is not counterbalanced by ignorance or self-seeking partisanship. This great body can move on as intrinsic force debarred from all temptation to serve party, or to think all is done when the piece of paper is slipped into the ballot box. This paper is practically neutralized by that of the careless brother or sister.

Not that the influence of woman will pass away if she becomes a voter—one would be mad to say that, or ignorant—but she will have thrown away, it seems to me, a great and entirely original attempt to create in the State a great group, which, through its intelligence, its untemptedness, will be the most enormous power to reckon with that the politician and the man of personal ambition will ever have faced. I know that a great many of our very best and most noble workers are longing for the ballot, feeling it is the logic and crown of their work; but, to me, the logic of their work is to go on in the well-beaten path, along which they have won the success and triumph which has made us their debtors. They are throwing aside one of the great instruments by which they have wrought.

L. T. W. PERKINS.

We have had a lot of floods
Votes for women!
Early frosts delayed the buds.
Votes for women!
Storms are washing out the seed,
As the farmers have agreed.
I can tell you what we need:
Votes for women!

There is chickenpox around.
Votes for women!
Here and there the mumps abound.
Votes for women!
It is sultry in July;
Many matters are awry.
They can all be straightened by
Votes for women.

(From the Louisville Courier-Journal)

Wage-Earning Women, Wage-Earning Men and Woman Suffrage

The National Women's Trade Union League in their convention at St. Louis, in June, adopted a resolution telling in plain terms just what they thought of the "antis." It reads:

"Whereas, A group of women of leisure, who, by accident of birth, have led sheltered lives and know nothing of the dangers and hardships confronting the working women, and who never thought experience have had to face the misery that low wages and long hours produce, are carrying on an active campaign of propaganda to defeat the efforts of workingwomen to obtain this essential instrument of their industrial freedom, and,

"Whereas, Every thinking woman realizes her individual and social responsibility toward controlling these conditions for herself, her fellow workers and the coming generation and wants the power the ballot will give her and her fellow workers, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the National Women's Trade Union League of America in convention assembled, representing the organized workingwomen of America, hereby solemnly protest against the active opposition of these women of leisure who persist in selfishly obstructing the efforts of the organized workingwomen to obtain full citizenship, thereby making the struggle for the protection of the working people's homes immeasurably more difficult."

The resolution of the National Women's Trade Union League offers an admirable example of the *intolerance of woman for woman*, which is even more obvious than "man's inhumanity to man."

The statement that "*every thinking woman wants the power the ballot will give her*," does little justice to the "thinking" qualities of the committee on resolutions or to the Association which sanctions its publication.

Even in the thick of a heated political contest the men accord to their adversaries the possession of at least a small amount of intelligence, and are willing to acknowledge that two equally able, well-informed and conscientious men may differ absolutely in their belief regarding that which is for the nation's welfare.

It remains for an association of women publicly to denounce those that differ from them as devoid of all "thinking" qualities, as well as of all "social responsibility" towards their fellow-women and the state. The assumption that an association of twenty thousand women such as that existing in Massachusetts to-day comprises only "women of leisure who have led sheltered lives and know nothing of the condition of the working women" is too absurd to need refutation.

One needs only to scan the list of the Massachusetts Association referred to, to appreciate the fact that it embraces not only *thinking women* and *working women*—but thinking women who are working faithfully for what they believe to be the truest interests of their State and their Sex.

If they fail to see in the extension of the ballot to all women any betterment of present conditions, those that differ from them may at least accord them (in masculine fashion) the possession of average intelligence and an equal interest in their sisters' welfare.

CAROLINE TICKNOR.

Of course the anti-suffragists are not a group of "women of leisure." Wage earning women compose the greater part of their ranks, and it is because they earnestly and honestly believe that votes for women means much more than simply "the burden of the ballot" alone and because they believe the franchise is not an essential instrument of industrial freedom and furthermore that it would in no way further the protection of the workingman's home, that they have organized against it.

The suffragists themselves are tending more and more toward the asking for identity of treatment with men in the eyes of the law, which means withdrawing from women much of the protection given them at the present time, protection which seems absolutely necessary if the race is not to suffer and deteriorate.

Mrs. Susan B. Fitzgerald, of Boston, a suffragist speaker, said during the Michigan campaign, that "we do not want any laws which discriminate in our favor. We do not want special protection by the law. We want exactly the treatment which men have."

And probably Mrs. Fitzgerald feels that way about it. But those eight or nine million wage-earning women do not, nor do any social students in the country.

The Industrial Commission of Connecticut recommended certain laws protective to working women to the Connecticut legislature this past season. These measures were a fifty-four hour law for women, a law forbidding their employment in occupations liable to breed tuberculosis and disease, and a law compelling the equipment with better sanitary protection of factories which employ women.

Just one woman appeared before the committee to speak on these recommendations. She was an English suffragist. And she did not plead for their passage. She protested against them.

"We want to be treated just as men are treated," said this suffragist, "and protest against any laws which protect us better than they do men."

Working men know that their great hope for protective labor legislation lies through the educating of public opinion by having such laws first passed for women.

"Our only hope of an eight-hour bill for men in the State of Ohio lies in the passage of such a bill first for women," said Harry Thomas, Secretary of the Cleveland Federation of labor, to me.

So that when the suffragists protest against such laws for women not only the working women will suffer but the working men.

It is more than truth that we have the great body of working women in our organization. It is logic.

The explanation given by the practical wage earning woman who has not been blinded by glittering, plausible and unsound arguments for the adoption of such measures by such organizations as the Woman's Trade Union League is that the women in these organizations have been appealed to by the glittering magic of slogans for which proof has not been asked and could not be given. And incidentally the leaders of the Trade Union League are not wage earning women. LUCY J. PRICE.

ALLIANCES

Rev. Anna Shaw in her argument before the Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage in Washington, on April 26th, said: "I am not afraid of the little band of ladies going up and down the country, talking against Woman Suffrage. They are just enough in number so that by spreading their skirts they hide the keepers of dens of iniquity, vice and prostitution." This is getting to be a stock argument of certain Suffrage leaders, who, as the Editor of the *Detroit Saturday Night* says, "ought to know better than to invoke to their aid the prejudice of decency against vice by brazen and false allegations that all Anti-Suffragists are in league or sympathy with dive keepers, white slavers and gamblers."

It is an authenticated fact that the two interests most active in the passage of the legislation abolishing the Canteen in the U. S. Army, were the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the liquor interests, but those of us who have seen the evils of this legislation do not credit the W. C. T. U. with an alliance or sympathy with the liquor interests. The W. C. T. U. sought to promote the cause of temperance in the army. The liquor interests worked in order to forward the sale of intoxicants outside the limits.

Can it be that the desire for the ballot blinds its advocates to the fact that other women may hold an honest difference of opinion from them and yet be as zealous for the common good as those who would double our present electorate?

THE EVASION OF DUTY AGGRAVATED BY "VOTE"

Suffragists ridicule the idea that women have the smallest responsibility concerning the sins of men. This is worse than wrong. It is stupid, for the sins of men are the most prolific cause of the suffering of women. Suffragists have made the illuminating discovery that it is "no use for a woman to keep her house clean if a bad city government does not do its part." They may later discover that rescuing girls does not touch the social evil so long as boys are taught to look upon girls as equals to whom they owe no protection. The growth of white slavery is bound to continue until the spirit of chivalry is once more instilled into boys by their mothers and until girls are once more taught (contrary to all Suffrage ethics) that purity in woman is its corresponding debt—a debt she recognizes if she too possesses the true spirit of chivalry. The Suffragist demands the right to break the "moral law" and to "pass on." She holds that men are equally obliged to defend the virtue of a woman who has none and a woman who has. This theory can not be "put over" because it could only have the effect of confusing and bewildering the youth you were trying to educate. It is somehow essential to the right development of boys that they should believe in the chastity of their mother and sisters. It seems to be equally essential to the right development of girls to rely on the chivalry of father and brothers. A girl who is quite indifferent to the influence she exerts on the characters of the men about her, invariably exerts a bad influence—for a negative or indifferent attitude in this matter is a disappointment in itself. Equally I should say that all women feel an inner sense of wrong that modern men are content to have them parade the streets and attempt to do the man's part. There is something to be said for the scorn and resentment Suffragists feel towards men on this point, for there is undoubtedly a weakness in the armour of men who have lost all influence with women. The women who respect the characters of their fathers and husbands and brothers are not attacking men. Hence the Suffragist movement, while it is certainly revealing a condition, is not a sign of a healthy condition in either sex. If men did their civic duty at the polls or in government office, women could not use the unflattering and contemptuous arguments they do. Also if women did their duty to their homes and children, men would not have fallen to the point they have reached morally. But the arguments of men's sins, white slavery, drink and political corruption will have to be taken at the fountain head and when women have once seriously embarked on

stamping out these evils thro' a different moral education and better social and domestic standards they will discover two things—one, that men who respect their mothers can be trusted to legislate for women, and another that it takes time to do woman's work.

The futile arguments about the time it takes to do woman's work, used by the Suffragists, always ignore that woman's work is of a natural and human kind which cannot be transferred and which very often cannot be systematized. For instance, a sick child takes all day, a well child perhaps an hour or two. A sentry or night watchman is not paid for alarming the camp or arresting a criminal every night. He is paid for being on guard. A mother may do little for weeks. Her work is frequently crowded and irregular. The children come home from school, much activity. The children return to school, great quiet. She may be at leisure to go to the polls to-day but another time the baby may be ill and unfortunately, ill babies are not open to argument. They would scarcely accept the "call to a higher duty" as a reason for dying. In fact a baby would probably be completely indifferent as to whether its pain was caused by the Board of Health's neglect to see that it had pure milk or its mother's absence when the pure milk supply was entirely under her control. The fact is that women will have to decide which is the higher duty once for all. Men of course know that supporting their families and defending their country and making laws is paramount with them to baby-tending or house keeping. Women used to be equally convinced that their duty was first to the home. Now they don't think so—but there is the baby! If both parents have the same duty outside the home, votes are evidently far more important than life and death. The Suffragists of course believe that they are, even though the mother's vote pairs with the father's or duplicates it. The results of woman suffrage, it must not be forgotten are about the same party division. It is in fact very much like paying the same house rent or water tax twice instead of once, as an assertion of independence.

Current Opinion quoting from the *London's Mail's* article says: "The followers of Mrs. Pankhurst, we are reminded by the British papers, are for the most part young. No leader of modern times has so caught the imagination of youth. Girls in shops, girls of the upper middle classes, girls in school even array themselves beneath her banner in numbers now so large as to threaten the dislocation of domestic life in entire communities."

RIGHT DIVISION OF POWER AND RESPONSIBILITY

Power without responsibility is a bad thing, and responsibility without power no better. The two should never be divorced. They should develop hand in hand depending on each other. No one should be given power without responsibility, and no one should be expected to take the responsibility who is not given the power. Woman Suffrage does violence to this sound principle. It would confer power on women who cannot in the nature of things assume full responsibility; and it would take away power from men who should be expected to bear the full responsibility. Of course with the division of power follows the division of responsibility, hence it is common now to hear that a woman should not only bear children, nurse and tend them, keep house and vote but should earn half the family income besides.

A correspondent to an English paper states that the "average wage of all the working women in England, from the medical and teaching professions down to the mill hands is 7/3 a week."

She goes on to ask in the next paragraph: "Why should not both parents have the privilege of being equally responsible for the maintenance and education of children?"

When she said 7/3 "a week" she no doubt meant "a day"—but taking the figures either way, is not the answer to the question contained in the statement, Could women (and remember this average includes the medical and teaching professions) being admittedly of such low wage earning capacity as to have only an average of 7/3 a week (or day) be justly expected to assume the same responsibilities as men who have a much greater capacity, because superior physical strength and mental endurance? The women that are here referred to are married women for the most part, but marriage would be an additional handicap to women while it usually proves a stimulus to man,

Anti-Suffragists believe that the responsibility of the vote and of maintaining and protecting the family properly belongs to the man and cannot be taken from him except at the cost of great injustice to both men and women, forcing woman to an unequal struggle with nature against her and forcing men into subjection to women in matters where the full responsibility would be better for them and easier as well.

Mr. E. A. Mitchell Innes says, speaking of what the Suffragists have done for women in England: "Many people find it difficult to oppose anything which any women ask them." All these obstacles have been wiped out. Public apathy has now become popular hostility at fever point."

SOCIALISM AND SUFFRAGE "LOG ROLLING"

In the *Progressive Woman*, May, 1913, this editorial appeared:

"To You Suffragists:

"YOU know, and we know, and every man and woman who has been supporting the cause of woman suffrage, knows that the time is near when mothers and sisters of men will have the ballot.

"But after you get the ballot—WHAT?

"Do YOU know—and perhaps you do—that as a voter YOU will be obliged to consider Socialism as an issue? In fact, when all women vote, Socialism will have become the BIG issue.

"WHY NOT INVESTIGATE SOCIALISM FOR YOURSELVES? THE PROGRESSIVE WOMAN can show YOU that Socialism will eventually be the creed of all wise suffragists."

From Alice Stone Blackwell, President of the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association in the *Boston Globe*:

"The same forces that are driving men into the Socialist ranks in fast-growing numbers are bound to drive the women there, too. And many women, as well as many men, will vote the Socialist ticket long before they become intelligent converts to Socialism, simply for the sake of getting a city government that is honest and is really run for the good of the whole people.

"* * * It is only a question of time when women as well as men will see that, instead of having our industries run by a gigantic combination of trusts, for the enrichment of a few, it would be more sensible to have them run by co-operation, for the benefit of all."

It would be funny (if it were not sad) to see Socialist and Suffragist trying to gain different ends through a temporary alliance of interest. Suffragists want the vote, so for the present they are opposed to privilege. Socialists want to do away with privilege, so for the present they exalt the power of women. But if Suffragists were in power, we should hear no more of the abolition of women's privileges, and if Socialists had their way, women would have no influence whatever, but would be merely industrial producers or breeders paid by the State without even the right to train their own children or to rule in a separate abode. The question is who has the sharper wits politically, Suffragist or Socialist. Which will pull the chestnuts out of the fire? The general impression is that the Socialist is most likely to gain his end in any co-operation between the two, Socialists see where they are driving and Suffragists do not. No plan of a new order has been formulated by Suffragists whereas Socialists know

what they want. Hence Suffragists are merely tools—but tools nevertheless with a sharp edge and an uncertain curve. It is possible that Socialists may find that Suffragists have little or no influence with their own sex at large and cannot guarantee how women will vote; it is also possible that Suffragists who have privileges to lose will change their tune when it comes to voting them away. The Socialists are more likely to keep their promise as regards women and we may safely believe that in return for the vote they would endeavor to give us absolute legal and industrial equality, which simply means industrial and legal slavery for women.

Follow the movement called Suffragism to its source and you will find that it is a sinister attack upon the integrity of the family. The question involved here is not merely "votes for women" but the far profounder propaganda of the economic independence of women, which is nothing more or less than one of the aspects of Socialism and rooted in its economic scheme to "destroy the family."

CONDE B. PALLEN,

From The Common Cause.

FIVE REASONS AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE

1. Because of the undemocratic spirit shown by the suffragists. They are entirely unwilling that the question of Woman Suffrage should be decided by the people most concerned, the woman themselves. They are thrown into a panic by the mere suggestion of a referendum in which women shall have a voice. Christabel Pankhurst says a referendum would be a dose of cold poison to the cause. Every other question in the universe they consider women capable of deciding—this one only should be left to men! This is of course a confession that they know themselves in a hopeless minority so far as women are concerned. Their unceasing attempts to force legislation which they know to be against the wishes of the majority proves them to be unfitted for political power in a democracy.

2. Because the suffrage movement develops sex hatred, which is a menace to society. (In England this has reached a stage never before known in our civilization.) It also breaks down the traditional respect for womanhood, and threatens a return to barbarism. It is a wholly new thing to see English, Welsh and Irish mobs attacking and viciously ill-treating women and is entirely due to the suffrage movement. Women have been so long immune by reason of their sex from attacks by men that they seem to have forgotten that when it comes to a trial of brute force, woman is bound to go to the wall.

3. Because women make little use of the

suffrage when it is given them. In the six suffrage States at the last presidential election only 47½ per cent. of the voters, including men and women, voted; while in the six adjoining male suffrage States 69 per cent. of the men voted. In Massachusetts, where women have had the school vote for many years, the women's vote has steadily fallen off, until last year, at a very important election, only two per cent. voted.

4. Because experience has proved that Woman Suffrage achieves nothing in making and enforcing more humane laws. Legislation protecting the working woman has not been enacted in a woman suffrage state until after its enactment in a male suffrage state. Laws ensuring the woman operative one day's rest in seven are lacking in three of the four oldest woman suffrage states (Colorado, Idaho and Wyoming) and were passed in Utah only after they had been passed in Massachusetts, Michigan and Missouri,—all male suffrage states. The only states which have laws prohibiting night work for women are Massachusetts, Nebraska and Indiana,—again all male suffrage states. The reports of the National Child Labor Committee show that the states which are most progressive in enacting and enforcing Child Labor legislation are not woman suffrage states, but New York and Massachusetts. There are nine states which have Prohibition,—only one of them, Kansas, is a suffrage state, and Kansas had Prohibition long before it had suffrage. A prominent suffragist in Wisconsin offered last year as an inducement to the brewers to vote for Woman Suffrage, the argument that it would mean better business for them, since all the suffrage states were wet!

5. Because of the alliance of suffrage with socialism, which teaches free love and institutional life for children; this teaching is opposed to progress and full of danger to society, for when homes shall perish, states shall fall, and a blow to family life is a blow to the nation itself.

JULIA WAINWRIGHT.

THE VALUE OF DISINTERESTED NON-PARTISANSHIP

BY MRS. A. J. GEORGE

There was a great woman in England who did work second to none in the housing of the poor and the care of the children, the establishment of playgrounds, and so on. Her name was Octavia Hill. At the end of a long life she said:

"I had hoped to be kept out of this suffrage contention, but I feel that after all these years I must say that it is important that one-half of the workers should be outside of party politics. This service is far more valuable than any voting power could possibly be."

(Continued on next page)

That is where we anti-suffragists contend that women can do their work best. The average woman is worthily employed already. To give her political responsibilities will not help out the situation unless she does something far more important than merely casting a ballot on election day. She has got to be a more informed voter than the average man of to-day if her vote is to be effective.

In passing, let me ask our suffrage friends to compare like with like. A favorite cartoon of the suffragists depicts a woman scrubbing, and a drunken man sitting at the table with his head bowed over, and the legend beneath the picture reads: "He can vote, she can not." Society is not made up of scrubbing wives and drunken husbands. Unfortunately both types exist, but, in all fairness, let us compare like with like, and until we are sure we are going to get a better state with the woman's vote than without it, we should hesitate before we hinder the best service women can do by putting them into political activities.

The ballot is the least part of good government, and those who advocate this instant doubling of the present electorate are behind the times. They emphasize the ballot as "the greatest of all modern reforms," and even urge that those who are to-day contributing to other reforms should withdraw or curtail their contributions to other causes until the ballot for woman is secured. (See appeal of M. Carey Thomas, February, 1913, for funds for National American Woman's Suffrage Association.)

These women in this country of ours are doing an increasing amount of public work, but it is no sophistry to ask you to distinguish between a few women in public work, well equipped, full of knowledge to match their zeal, and all women in political life. Where you find a woman doing a distinctive work, where you find that it is constructive, you will find that it gains its quality and it gains its distinction because the woman is working not as a Republican or a Democrat or a Socialist or a Progressive, but she is working as a woman who is informed, who is ready to direct public opinion, and who has no personal political motive to serve. She works as a disinterested, non-partisan factor for the public good, and there is no reason that she should take the retrogressive step which would make her work identical with man's. It is not a question of right, it is not a question of woman's inferiority or her superiority; it is a question of what is expedient for the State, and the anti-suffragists believe that it is expedient for the State that the motherhood of the State should not be drafted off into political channels.

INTENSE ACTIVITY IN NEW JERSEY

(From the New York Sun.)

PLAINFIELD, N. J., July 17.—Anti-suffragists here may seek police protection for their next meeting, to be held July 31. The need of police guards is being discussed as a result of a disturbing incident at a conference of members of their organization in the auditorium of the Police Library on Monday. While Miss R. A. Lawrence, the Secretary, was speaking she noticed a crowd of boys standing in the doorway, and suggested that the door be closed.

While this was being done a little boy rushed forward with an immense bouquet, which he threw over the transom and ran away. The flowers bore a card with the following inscription:

"We desire to express our gratitude for the kind work which you are doing in our behalf and beg for a continuation of your favors.

"The Liquor Interests.

"The Child Labor Interests.

"The White Slave Interests.

"And other Vice Interests."

The anti-suffragists recognized the label as the caption of a recent cartoon in the *Saturday Evening Post*. They were unable to learn who sent the strange present. They thought that the bouquet sender was the same person who recently wrote with chalk upon the doorsteps of the home of Mrs. Charles Sykes:

"Here lives the president of the Women Traitors."

The scribbler wrote also the following upon the steps of the vice-president, Mrs. J. Constable Moore:

"To hell with the antis! Votes for Women! Hurrah for Mrs. Pankhurst!"

While they were much wrought up over these incidents, none of the anti-suffragists would say yesterday that they held the Plainfield suffragists directly responsible for the attacks.

The wave of interest in the opposition to Woman Suffrage that is sweeping over the State of New Jersey is growing in volume during the summer months. The movement has been much encouraged by the support of men of all political parties. The women, although loath to enter the field of politics, realize they must take an active part in the coming campaign, forced into the position by the Suffragists having entered the arena. The prominent women who have allied themselves with the opposition and the thousands of members of the organization who are the contented wives and mothers of the State realize they must fight to protect themselves, their homes and the institutions of their country.

The quiet woman when aroused makes an irresistible fighter. From all over the State, men have been sending in their names though unsolicited and now a Men's League will be organized very shortly with men of all political creeds. Even names of members of the Progressive Party have been added to the number. Mrs. Thomas

Preston (Mrs. Grover Cleveland formerly) has found many sympathizers in Princeton who have expressed themselves by financial aid. The Very Reverend James McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, has stated emphatically that he will support no candidate who stands for equal suffrage and socialistic principles. He is a very active and greatly respected prelate and has great influence over a large circle of people.

A Men's Advisory Committee has been formed to take the first steps, consisting of Hon. Henry Leavett, Judge Huston Dixon, Mr. Charles Minnegorode, of Trenton, and Col. William Libbey of Princeton. As the vast majority of the men all over the State are heartily in sympathy with this movement the organization will be a powerful one. The Headquarters of the Association are at 201 East State Street, Trenton, a large residence in the most prominent corner of the capital city, and it is placarded with signs and a bulletin board which draws a crowd of readers daily. Men from all over the country stop in to express their interest and the office force have letters in large numbers asking for speakers and information.

The Granges have shown a special interest and a number have been supplied with speakers at their request. They are anxious to know the real issue, and at a recent meeting, several men rose and said they would never again vote for the Progressive Party while its platform contained the equal suffrage plank.

The Men's League for Woman Suffrage, a small number of men attached to the Progressive and Socialist Parties have called a convention for July 26th, at Ocean Grove but they are outnumbered thousands of times by the members of the Progressive Democrats, Old School Democrats and Republicans who will assist the women who are opposing suffrage and defeat any candidate who has equal suffrage as one of his principles. A legislative Committee has been appointed with Mis MacIlvaine, of Trenton as Chairman, and members from all the different counties. The Association though a little more than a year in existence, numbers five thousand women, all twenty-one years of age and over and has branches all over the State. The last branch formed at Morristown with Mrs. Emery, wife of Vice-Chancellor John R. Emery, as President. Plainfield, the stronghold of Mr. Everett Colby, has a branch numbering, within two months' time, several hundred members; Elizabeth, in three months, has over six hundred members; Jersey City is starting a vigorous campaign, and Newark is waiting until September to form a branch, and immediately enter the political field to defeat any candidate who shows any sympathy with a doctrine so distasteful to the vast majority of the men and women of the State.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Suffragists appear to ignore the fact that all minimum wages are relatively lower for women than the minimum wage agreed to for men. Is this equality? It seems to us that the same proportion is retained here as elsewhere.

The *Detroit Saturday Night*, of April 12, 1913, says:

"Men who voted for suffrage in November in a spirit of gallantry and without conviction were impressed with the objections advanced by hundreds of noble women who believed as sincerely that suffrage was bad as the suffragists believed that it was good."

If the men of Illinois had had an opportunity to express the opinion of the majority of women, the defeat of woman suffrage would undoubtedly have been as overwhelming as it was in Michigan. The small band of woman suffrage lobbyists evidently did not dare risk giving this opportunity.

A London, England, medical authority says:

"Women have now to rely upon their personal attractions more than ever. They are ruled out of consideration on the question of chivalry, which at one time was as big an asset to them as were their charms. Man is no longer called upon for chivalry, because woman has disputed every inch of his domain.

"The present dress movement in this country is one of exaggerations in the expression of freedom asserted by all women, but the essence of the movement is evolutionary, not revolutionary.

"Are not women nowadays, for the most part and no doubt unconsciously, engaged in an extensive advertising campaign, conceived with the object of reviving the fading interest of the male?"

If instead of hearing Sarah Bernhardt on Suffrage, and Florence Nightingale on Suffrage and Mary Johnston on Suffrage and Jane Addams on Suffrage, the *Woman's Journal* would tell us what Mr. Asquith, Queen Victoria, Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, Gladstone, Herbert Spencer, and Judges of the Supreme Court had to say on that question, it would be more germane to the discussion. Sarah Bernhardt on acting, Florence Nightingale on nursing, Mary Johnston on literature and Jane Addams on philanthropy might be very interesting but apparently none of these ladies are profound students of government and what we need is teachers in that department. To give their views in solemn headlines

is just about as sensible as though the *Woman's Journal* were to publish the views of Gladstone on nursing, and the Judges of the Supreme Court on acting. What we want is competent opinions from those to whom the science of government is not a chartless sea.

The following letter received by THE WOMAN'S PROTEST is significant:
My Dear Madam:

For twelve years I have been editing papers, just as man does, and consider myself in a position to venture an opinion in regard to the mad methods of the women who are lowering the standard of womanhood, under the name of suffragettes, in this country and abroad.

I would like to become a member of your organization, and write you for detail of procedure.

I am Managing Editor of two publications and the fact that I am fit to do the work, that I draw the same wage a man would in doing it, gives me the keenest satisfaction, and also the knowledge that I have about all the "rights" I care to handle.

I have been bitterly opposed to all that suffragettes stand for, and have so voiced myself in the page which I personally conduct. If you cared to have me do so, I would be glad to send you some of my anti-suffrage editorials.

Fraternally yours,

(MRS.) ALICE LOUISE LYTLE,
Thomson, Georgia.

Miss Julia Lathrop's report on infant mortality says, "Man-made alleys kill children." She does not mention that the good sanitation which saves many babies is also man-made and no allusion is made to votes for women having reduced infant mortality.

Richmond, Virginia has appreciably lowered its death rate by sanitary improvements, and in New York, the Division of Child Hygiene has succeeded in reducing the rate from 164 per thousand to 112, and this is only a beginning.

It seems strange that so little allusion is made to maternal ignorance and neglect which even in a much more limited experience than Miss Lathrop's, one has found to be so often the cause of the illness or death of infants. Improper feeding, dirty bottles, neglect of serious symptoms of disease, etc., etc. These might, however, be branded as woman-made and that spells Anti-Suffrage and marks one as an enemy to one's sex. Votes for women may abolish "man-made alleys," but it will need something more than votes to abolish "that

deadly quartet—heat, sour milk, dirt and flies," and this is being done quite as well without votes as with them as Miss Lathrop's report shows.

Lady Jersey, who is President of the English Anti-Suffrage League calls attention to the fact that the White Slave Act "which has proved so effectual in dealing with this terrible question of White Slavery was brought in by an Anti-Suffragist, that it has been passed by men, that a very large proportion of this pernicious trade was unfortunately carried on by women and that the person who has written most powerfully against this act was a Suffragist woman." The woman Lady Jersey refers to is Mrs. Billington-Greig who attacked the White Slave Act in the June number of the *English Review*, denying that any trapping existed and ridiculing the stories of white slave traffic as an invention of "neuropaths and prudes." Mrs. Billington-Greig calls the passing of the White Slave Act an example of "getting legislation by false pretenses." In short, Suffragists has nothing to do with it, beyond the circulation of said sensational reports which were intended *not to secure the good law that was passed but to gain votes for women*. No one is more disgusted than Mrs. Billington-Greig and her fellow Suffragists that their emotional campaign should have resulted in direct legislation instead of in an extension of the franchise. After having stirred up the whole country on this subject, spoken from every platform and spread broad-cast in the press their terrible indictment of men and the law which made woman suffrage a merciful necessity, Mrs. Billington-Greig now states that not one act of trapping girls can be substantiated and that the legislation in which Anti-Suffragists rejoice was due to "neuropaths and prudes." The truth is that the Suffragists were disappointed in the passage of the White Slave Act which showed unmistakably how easily women could secure desired and desirable legislation. They were completely indifferent to the act protecting girls, what they wanted was votes. Everyone who is inclined to take a sensational view of white slavery in this country at present, should read Mrs. Billington-Greig's article and realize that it is still being used as a campaign argument by the very political party which, in the right time and place, does not hesitate to advocate free love, easier divorce, open saloons and the single moral standard, (revised downward) and which is capable of a brazen denial of the very arguments it has done the most to circulate as soon as they have ceased to be effective.

THE NEW YORK STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO WOMAN SUFFRAGE

FOUNDED 1895

Printed matter can be secured by application to the Secretary at the office of the Association, 37 West 39th Street, New York City.

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Woman Suffrage Means Debasement Not Only of

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By *Mr. John R. Dos Passos*

New Zealand and Australia from an Anti-Suffrage Point of View

The Voice of the People

Suffragists Desert Philanthropy

Woman Suffrage and the Equal Guardianship Law

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR READING

On Suffrage (0.5)

G. K. Chesterton

Votes for Women (10c.)

Frederic Harrison

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